

## WAZIRISTAN A HISTORICAL REVIEW 1849 – 1895

**Abstract.** North Waziristan is presently in the eye of the storm as far as world headlines are concerned. Osama Bin Laden started his journey here at Khost in 1988. Before him in 1936 Fakir of Ipi reached the zenith in militant resistance to British and modernisation. Lawrence of Arabia was here at MiranShah in 1928 as Aircraft Man Shah writing his Mint. Victoria Cross was awarded in 1915 to Captain Jotham, and no less than 50 military awards have been bestowed upon native soldiers and officers for bravery by the His Majesty's Government between 1900 – 1947. British at one time in 1920 even contemplated to use chemical gas to eliminate the tribes. Royal Air Force got a lease by virtue of these tribes in 1920. No other place except Palestine has been so influencing on world affairs. This article looks at the initial era of British interaction with the tribes. The article also travels down the history of the region to high light the connection of Waziristan .

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## ORIGIN

The origin is obscure in history the tradition goes that once upon a time long long ago there were two brothers and one of them was childless and the other had a daughter, they both were out hunting when they found a child who was left at an army camping ground they found an axe also. The childless brother adopted the baby, which in Pashto was named as Karlanri {meaning axe}. When the boy grew up, he was married to the daughter of his uncle. This Karlanri had two sons, one was named as Koday who in turn had two wives, from the first wife the Orakzai took birth and from second wife the Afridis, Khattaks, Mangals and Turi were bred. Kokay was the second son of Karlanri he had two sons one named as Sulaiman and the other as Shitak, Daurs are the descendants' of Shitak<sup>1</sup>.

Sulaiman also had two sons; Bangash are the descendents from Malikmir the youngest son of Sulaiman. Wazir the eldest son of Suleiman had two sons namely Khizri and Lali. Khizri had three sons namely Musa, Mahmud and Mubarak. Musa was called Darwesh from his religious character and thus clan that is today known as Darwesh Khel Wazir are his descended. Musa had two sons namely Utman and Ahmed that thus forms the sub clans of

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<sup>1</sup>Olaf Caroe *Pathan*, p-463. Also, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series NWFP, 1909*, pp. 72-73,182,243-248.

Darwesh Khel as Utmanzai & Ahmedzai. Mahmud had a son called Mahsud which forms the Mahsud Wazir Tribe or clan similarly Mubarak had one son name Gurbuz which forms the Gurbuz Wazir tribe. Thus, it is seen that all the clans are interlinked through blood. All these tribes are Aryan genetically and culturally, they have fair complexion {exceptions are there} with broad head with plenty of hair, narrow long nose and dark eyes; it is the length of their nose which gives rise to the theory of their being Jewish by descends.<sup>2</sup> These tribes are also Turk culturally and socially, Turk was the general name given by Arabs to all nomadic tribes of Central Asia. The combination of these Aryan {Iranian} & Turk tribes gave birth to the two distinct tribes' one known as Afghans and other as Pathan. An Afghan tribe is primarily constituted from a number of kindred groups who are not descended from a common ancestor where as Pathan tribes have a common bloodline and ancestor. Both groups accepts reluctantly but as a necessity any alien tribe within them; the reluctance is overcome by the advantage of extra manpower for feud settling but an attached tribe is always seen as an inferior and marriages are seldom contracted among them. The woman so given goes back to her own tribe on the death of the husband. The differentiating line between Afghans & Pathan is thin for the reason that both hail from the rugged mountainous region west of River Indus, Pathan are the one who lives within the Indus Valley and Afghans outside it but there are exceptions.

### **Language**

Language spoken is an Aryan derivation and known as Pashto which have written characters {Baluch does not have written characters} it is a hard language with two main derivate, in the north east of Waziristan Pakhtu and in south west as Pashto, Wazirs have a dialect of their own known as Ormurt spoken in south east Waziristan. Afghani is also quite similar and both ethnic groups can communicate with each other.

### **Geography**

Waziristan has three distinct regions; it has two high plateaus in the north and south with a dry valley in between. On the north it is bounded by Safeed Koh {White Mountain}, moving west ward, another mountain range of medium elevation runs parallel towards south and after two hundred miles takes a turn towards south, on the east the mountain ranges starts receding in heights and all water channels that have been formed in the northern and western

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<sup>2</sup>*Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume 1*, pp. 186 & 293.

mountain ranges forms a mountain delta before pouring into Indus which is the natural boundary eastern boundary of Waziristan. In the south east is another mountain range Sulaiman Koh.

A series of rivers runs all in a west – east direction, Kurram in the North, Shaktu, Tochi, Khaisora and Zhob in the south. These rivers are not as healthy as the eastern rivers of Indus are. Waziristan is not affected and neither benefit from Monsoon, it is only the snow and occasional rain that provides water. These rivers also provides the passes and routes for movement between the Indus and Amu Darya, these are the gate ways to the far reaching places in west. The traditional Hajj route passes through these passes.

Waziristan can be divided into three distinct geographical divisions basing upon the geography. The **Northern Waziristan** {Kurram River}, it includes Kurram River and Valley with SafeedKoh Mountain ranges as the boundary. Orakzai lives here and Afridis occupy the other side of SafeedKoh. Kurram has an elevation of 4750 feet and Peiwar Kotal is the pass, which let an opening in the north western mountain range to allow movement towards Kabul. Sakaram {SafeedKoh} peak, which is the highest point in Waziristan, lies in Kurram with an elevation of 15620 feet. Moving westward Shatargardan Pass at an elevation of 10800 feet is the north – north-western opening for Waziristan; Mangals lives here and it encompasses Khost the highest peak in Khost Valley is 12640 feet. Tajiks are neighbours of Wazirs in this area.

**Central Waziristan** {Kaitu-Tochi – Khaisora-}.North and south are both green, fertile, on high ground, river full of water, plenty of snow and enough fruit; but they both lack agricultural land and produce. Central Waziristan is rugged, barren, dry, and hot and has little water. Yet it is the central Waziristan which despite all these adversity still produces enough produce of grains to sustain it self. Tochi is the life line and the artery of life. It forms a natural pass at almost field elevation; it is a natural division of Waziristan, cutting into two equal halves. The population lives astride the river which in its eighty odd miles of journey is joined by numerous Algid, it is at the end of its journey that Khaisora also joins in and later Tochi conflux into Kurram

**Southern Waziristan** {Razmak – Gomal}. The general layout of the region in the west of Wazir country is barren with Ghazna being the major centre of culture. Ghilzai the largest Pashto speaking tribe resides here in this region. In the South lives Sulaiman Khel and it is the home of UtmanWazirs a small town is name after them; Gomal River forms the

natural frontier of Waziristan in south where Kakkars who are distantly related to Wazirs through a rare marriage, which took place among them otherwise marriages, are only within the tribe. Musa Khel Wazirs have their abode on the southern bank of River Zhob in the Zhob Valley. Sulaiman mountain range in the south-southeast is another natural frontier. Unlike the northern frontier, which is green, fertile and full of life the south is dry and barren with peaks touching 11295 and 11070 feet. On the eastern edge, the layout of the ground is rolling towards the River Indus with irregular spurs protruding towards Indus. It is in the east that the entire water channels which have taken birth in the western high regions joins each other in miles after miles of riverbeds. Bhattanis occupy the south-eastern edge and moving upwards the next tribe is Marwat then Khattaks and Bangash.

### **Communication**

It is road based and waterways neither have any depth nor flow to offer any water ways. However all communication links are inter link with water channels. Railways penetrated Waziristan quite late and confined only to the northern and southern regions.

### **History**

There is very little known about Waziristan from the ancient texts, they are not mentioned by the Greek historians who accompanied the Alexander the Great, neither Herodotus has any words about them. However in the oldest oral tradition of Indus Valley Rig Veda, there are words about a tribe 'Pathan' which can be taken as reference to the modern Pathans. Logically the Wazirs are ancient Aryan tribe which settled in the region mention and described above. They share and exhibit the same qualities which are attributed to Aryans , fair in colour, fun loving, militant, hospitable, respecting women, intoxicating through herbs, monotheistic in nature, adhering to tribe and clan system. Aryans were afraid of their mother – in –law and same cannot be said about Wazirs with authority. Medieval history of Wazirs is linked with Ghazna and Islam

### **Islam**

Traditionally the Pathan considers them to be one of the lost tribe of the Moses for the reason that it gives them a lineage to the Abraham religion rather than to be termed as anything else. The Pathan tradition highlights that they are one of the early converts of Islam, one of their tribal leader was called by the most famous of all the Muslim and Arab General Khalid Bin Waleed to the Mecca and there they embraced Islam, the one logic which the

Pathan gives in support; the fact that they have the same name of their pass the Khyber which is also the name of another important place in the Arab and early Islamic history 'The Khyber' of the Jews

Ghazna was taken over by the Islamic army in 870 AD. Ghazna is almost on the extreme western edge of the Indus Valley frontiers, Mahmud followed the Kaitu River to cross the Hindu Kush, and the tribes inhabiting the Tochi Valley became his striking force, most ruthless, brave and brutal. Before Ghazna was destroyed by the neighbouring Islamic Ghor dynasty, all the areas of present day Khyber Pakhtoonkhawa Province less Hazara area were part of the empire. India also passed from the hands of the Ghaznavids to Ghorids. Ghazna for next two hundred years remained the power centre initially it was captured by the Khwarizmi 1215 later Mongol in 1221 occupied it, came back under Turk control in 1224 and Saif ud din became its governor who also incorporated Karman {Kurram} and Banian {Bannu}. In 1239, Mongols came again and Saif fled from Ghazna but kept his hold on Banian, later Tamerlane invaded India in 1398 and he opted the Banian - Tochi route for his way back.

## AFGHANISTAN

The word Afghan appeared for the first time during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazna it depicted the area between the Ghazna & Sulaiman Koh territories<sup>3</sup> it is a Persian word for the people inhabiting east of Ghazna. On the other hand, people of Indus Valley consider themselves as 'the one who lives outside the western frontiers of Indus Valley'. Just like the word 'Turk', the word 'Afghan' also is complicated in nature. It is safe to assume that Pathan, Afghan & Turk are nomadic tribes inter linked with marriages, blood lines & Islam yet retaining fundamental, animalistic, natural and historical grievances and vengeance against each other.

Nadir Shah{d 1747}a Persian Turk in 1738 , conducted the last rites of Moghul Empire by capturing Kandahar, Ghazna, Kabul and finally in 1739 defeated Emperor Muhammad Shah,. Ahmed Shah Abdali {d 1772} is regarded as the father of modern day Afghanistan, as a country his rule extended beyond Indus in the east and Delhi became a vassal state. Above all, he emerged as the real emperor of modern day India, Pakistan and

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<sup>3</sup>*Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial series NWFP {Calcutta,1908}p*

Afghanistan by virtue of his crushing defeat of Marathas in 1761 at Panipat. Lahore, Kashmir, Multan, Peshawar all became part of Afghanistan; which now emerged as a saviour of Islam

### **Sikh Empire {1799-1846}**

Sikhism took birth in Punjab in 1520 A.D; and despite having Muslim Sufi saints teachings as part of their religion they were treated at times harshly by the Moghul notably by the Aurangzeb not purely on religious grounds but it also had the spice of royal politics as well. The Sikh Misls attacked Ahmad Shah Abdalli's forces on their way back after plundering Delhi. In 1799 Sikh's under Ranjeet Singh entered into Lahore and slowly but gradually the Afghan Empire started shrinking, in 1818 Dera Ismail Khan gave way to Waziristan capitulated to Sikhs and five years later Sikhs had the Bannu under their suzerainty. In 1834, Sikhs overpowered Afghans at Nowshera and Peshawar along with Kohat came under their control. It was at Jamrud in 1837 that this tide was checked and with the death of Ranjeet Singh in 1839, The Wazir tribes inhabiting the mountainous region remained independent and owed no allegiance to any ruler however, the religious and ethnic commonality bounded them together against Sikhs with bias towards Kabul.

### **GREAT GAME & FORWARD POLICY**

The political and military rivalry of European continent also had its effects on the sub continental politics, initially British had apprehensions about the Napoleon's advance towards the India which were later replaced by the Russians after the treaty of Vienna in 1815. By this time in history the area West of present day Afghanistan was a conglomeration of independent small valley states all Islamic in nature like Khiva and Merv<sup>4</sup>, these were captured by the Russians therefore British in order to keep an eye on the affairs wanted to have a friendly and a subservient ruler in Kabul which was at time under control of a Pathan, ruler Dost Muhammad { 1793 – 1863}. British failed in diplomacy to achieve their aim and therefore the **First Anglo Afghan war started in 1839**. Ranjeet Singh did not allow troops of BEIC to march through his territory, which was the most feasible in terms of logistics that

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<sup>4</sup>Anila, Bali .*The Russo-Afghan Boundary Demarcation 1884-95: Britain and the Russian Threat to the Security of India*, {School of Humanities, University of Ulster. Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.1985}. pp. 25-

stands out as a masterpiece of diplomacy. The First Anglo Afghan war did achieved for a brief time a friendly Afghan ruler, the Shah Shuja at Kabul, however Afghans revolted against Shah Shuja and British Consulate at Kabul was burnt in 1841<sup>5</sup>, thus ended the sphere of influence in Afghanistan for the British, Dost Muhammad was back to throne and this time he ruled till his death in 1863.<sup>6</sup>

## **WAZIRISTAN MILITARY EXPEDITIONS 1852 - 1895**

Disaster in First Afghan War led to a chain of events in which, first the Sind was annexed in 1842 and later Punjab in 1849.

### **PUNJAB 1849**

After the death of Ranjeet Singh the Sikh empire collapsed after waging two wars against the British, First Anglo – Sikh War {1845 – 1846} which resulted in cessation of certain areas of Punjab to the British including Kashmir, the resultant Second Anglo - Sikh war {1848 – 1849} resulted in annexation of Punjab by the BEIC, with Sir Henry Lawrence {1806 – 1857} and his ‘Young Men’ now trying to govern the Punjab especially the North Western Frontier. Henry’s brother John Lawrence was also among those Young Men, he later became the Viceroy of India {1864 – 1869}. Young Men who tried to solve the riddle of North West included Captain James Abbott {Abbottabad} Lieutenant Harry Lumsden {Corps of Guides} Captain Neville Chamberlain {Later Field Marshall}. Political Agent John Nicholson { Nicholson Memorial near Islamabad} Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes {1819 – 1868} founder of Edwardesabad { Modern Bannu} Lieutenant William Hodson {1821 – 1858 } of ‘Hodson Horse’ & ‘Guides Cavalry’ Captain John Coke {1806 – 1897} of ‘1<sup>st</sup> Punjab Regiment’ .

### **PUNJAB IRREGULAR FRONTIER FORCE {PIFFER}**

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<sup>5</sup> Azmat, Hayat, *The Durand Line its Geo-Strategic Importance* { Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 2000} pp. 63-64

<sup>6</sup> Ibid p,64



Corps of Guides was raised in 1846 -47 by Harry Lumsden, the very first instance of recruiting the natives into a military organisation. Success of Guides led to formation of a separate force the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force {Piffers -1849}, under command of Punjab Government instead of Central Government at Calcutta<sup>7</sup>. Henry Lawrence's Young Men also carried out the administrative reforms in the frontier areas dividing it into frontier districts {Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan collectively known as Derajat} entering into treaties, pacts and agreements with the native Pathan Tribes and Afghanistan<sup>8</sup>. The Districts of Bannu was the only district within the Waziristan in the north – east alongwith Derajat in the east and south east. Piffers were mainly comprised of the old Sikh Regiments, alongwith the army the administration of the Sikhs also passed hands.

### **Lawrence of Punjab**

Wazirs, which hitherto remained independent, had no other means of sustenance other than plundering the plains of Punjab; they on regular intervals in mass or in small parties raided the settled areas. Sir Henry Lawrence was adamant to stop this, to establish the writ of Company, and to provide protection to the subjects living under the British rule from the marauding tribesmen, only then they are going to pay the taxes. . Between 1849 - 1854 over eighteen military punitive expeditions<sup>9</sup> were conducted by the Piffers to punish the tribes for their acts of hostility that included looting of caravans and attacks on BEIC, which from tribes' perspective was nothing new. 'These small expeditions can be dealt with in dew words'.<sup>10</sup> In 1852, the very first expedition against the Wazirs was carried out from the Tank.

After 1857 the troops of the East India Company were placed under the crown the proclamation of Queen Victoria on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1858 practically ceased the existence of East India Company and its troops. The company's European troops became British regiments and artillery of three presidencies was amalgamated into Royal Artillery. Meanwhile Henry Lawrence entered into a treaty with Dost Muhammad in which latter

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<sup>7</sup> Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India &The Developmental Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*..Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King's College, University of London. pp. 20-25

<sup>8</sup> Ibid ,p 246

<sup>9</sup>*The Durand line* ,pp. 244-245

<sup>10</sup>H.L.Nevill Captain, Campaigns on the North West Frontier, first published 1910 {Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2003}, p. 13.

agreed to be an 'enemy of enemies of honourable East India Company'<sup>11</sup>. Another treaty was signed in Peshawar on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1857, in which British agreed to pay the Dost Muhammad one-lakh rupees per month for his assistance against the Persian, which had captured Herat along with 4000 muskets<sup>12</sup>.

In Post 1857 the War Office and politicians in London especially prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favoured a '**Forward Policy**' which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents stationed as far forward as possible there by making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy<sup>13</sup>, there by rejecting the very idea of any Russian invasion to India as not practical, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defence line<sup>14</sup>. The policy of Lawrence of Punjab in dealing with frontier has been termed as **Masterly Inactivity**. Diplomatic and military moves between the Russia and Great Britain from 1829 onwards on the Western, North Western & Northern Frontiers of Indus Valley were like a game of Chess and is termed as **Great Game**, the very term coined in 1828 and made famous by the Rudyard Kipling. Within India there was another policy or school of thought known as **Sandemanism**, Sir Robert Sandeman was a political agent which after the 1842 annexation of Sind was working under the Bombay Government. He came across the Balochi Tribes who occupied the passes that leads towards Afghanistan { Kandahar } onwards to the Herat and Merv. Robert Sandeman was able to negotiate successfully with the Bugti, Marri, Laghari, Mazarri and other Baloch Sardars. The method was to deal with the Sardars and it worked. By 1889 the very first British officer was constructing a bungalow at Quetta, he was killed before it was completed. Now the same method was being employed in dealing with the Wazir Tribes.

### **Wazir's Strikes**

In March 1860, the first major attack was launched by the Wazir {Mahsuds} with a lashkar of 3000 on the Tank town led by Jhangi Khan, a partial success. In April, the Piffers

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<sup>11</sup> Durand Line ,p 246

<sup>12</sup>Ibid 248.

<sup>13</sup>Miller, *Khyber*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>14</sup>Mujtaba ,Razvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan, a Study of Frontiers Problem in Pakistan Foreign Policy*

{National Publishing House,Karachi,1971}pp,144-145.

retaliated and penetrated until Palosina Plains ‘a stiff fight’<sup>15</sup>. Piffers were able to reach Kanigoram and Barari Tangi and after staying one night at Razmak, they returned to frontier district via Khaisora River valley.

In 1865 – 66 Major Graham, the Deputy Commissioner {Dera Ismail Khan} initiated the peace process by allotting the agricultural lands to Mahsuds; he also inducted twenty – five Mahsuds in a levy to protect the same lands from raids across the border. It was a replica of Lumsden’s Guides. Later eight sowars and rest footmen replaced these 25 sowars. The sowars were being paid Rs 20/ per month and the footmen an amount of Rs 8/ per month. Under the silladari system the maliks who recruited them took almost half the pay of these men; legally. By 1881, the silladari system was disregarded and men were paid directly but less than their previous pay.

The favoured clan was not the one with most peaceful attitude rather the most troublesome Bahlolzai Mahsuds. Malik Umar Khan Son of Jhangi Khan spoiled the party by insisting on having equal shares and stamping himself as the Chief Malik, his terms were accepted. The three main branches of Mahsud namely Alizai, Shaman Khel, Amal Khel & Shingi were thus treated equally. The notable Mahsud chiefs were Nusratee, Jungee Khan, and Sidh Khan & Golanee Khan<sup>16</sup>

Peace did not prevail in area and Mahsuds continued ‘Sad and humiliating record of offenses ... their raids without any intermission between 1867 – 1872’<sup>17</sup>.

In **1861**, reorganization was carried out in army under which the strength of British officers in cavalry and infantry regiments was reduced to six per battalion however; the presidency system was retained but a staff corps was introduced into them. Captain Macaulay took the control of the District {Derajat} in **1873** and more importantly, he assumed the control of border affairs eliminating the Nawab of Tank from the process, who was put on pension at Lahore. Macaulay was able to reach settlements with tribes, the Shaman Khel were forced to pay a fine to get their prisoners released, Bahlolzai also followed suit in 1874 paying a sum of rupees 7085 as fine.

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<sup>15</sup> Evelyn Howell Resident in Waziristan *Mizh a Monograph on Government’s relations with the Mahsud Tribe* { Government of India, Simla, 1931}p - 1

<sup>16</sup> Herbert Edwardes *A Year in Punjab, Volume 1*, p – 248.

<sup>17</sup>Mizh Monograph, p- 1

In 1875, the tribes of Bhattanis, Mianis & Ghorezai were also inducted into the protection of the frontiers. In 1877, the scheme of Major Graham for the distribution of agricultural land was revived and Mahsuds were given the lands near Gomal Pass on the condition that they provide one footman for every 100 canals of land and one horseman for every two hundred kanals of land allotted. In 1878, the tribal escort took Major Macaulay to the Khajauri Kach in Mahsud land. Macaulay reached an agreement with the maliks for arising of Wazir and Mahsud Levies for the protection of Gomal Pass in lieu of Rupees 10/ per person per mensum. Government of India was eager to bring the tribes onto its side

*'In order to detach from all political consideration with the afghan Government these independent tribes on our border whom it is most important... to bring permanently under our own influence to the exclusion of that of the Amir'*<sup>18</sup>

In 1878, the kidnapping of a Hindu from Tank deteriorated the relationship and Macaulay put the whole of Mahsud tribe under the blockade, previously it was only the concerned clan, which was punished. Resultantly in 1879 The Mahsuds got put together a combined lashkar, the first in modern history purely for war and under Malik Umar Khan Salimi Khel, Matin Langar Khel, Yarik Langar Khel, Azmat Shingi, Bahlolzai, Boyak Aimal Khel Bahlolzai, Mashak Abdur Rahman Khel and Nana Khel Bahlolzai struck hard at Tank and with that all hopes of good will evaporated. Art of uniting the tribes especially the Wazirs requires something special in a Malik to do so. This was also the last of the Wazirs Expedition, which were not in the name of religion. The leadership was not centralised rather every clan bonded with another due to bloodline and words of honour. The motivation was not religion rather the tribal pride, the Wazirs acme for the war purely because this is how they were brought up. The Afghan hand cannot be ruled out rather it was the most logical benefactor. Wazirs have been active players in the Afghan matters. The British reaction was mixed and cautious; there was another school of thought among the British, which regarded all these activities of Mahsuds to be an instigation of Amir Sher Ali Khan of Afghanistan. The British took 183 of the Mahsud maliks present in the tank into captivity as hostages and blockade was imposed on the Mahsuds, which lasted for another two years

### **Second Anglo-Afghan War 1878 -79.**

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<sup>18</sup>Mizh Monograph, p – 3.

After the death of Dost Muhammad in 1863 his son Sher Ali Khan ruled Afghanistan till 1866 and then displaced for two years and then he regained the crown and ruled till 1879. As part of Great Game Britain engineered the western borders of Afghanistan and Russians agreed on having a clear sphere of influence, a treaty was signed with Russia on the extent of spheres of both empires in 1873, which later became the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia. Sher Ali Khan thus maintained a very dicey relationship with both superpowers.

Second Afghan War started because in London the policy makers now adopted the forward policy. 'Coming of the Conservatives in power in 1874. Lord Lytton became the new Governor General in India. The Forward Policy was pursued {by new Governor General Lytton} and the tension grew... a mission under Neville Chamberlain left for Afghanistan, but on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1878 it was not permitted by the Amir Sher Ali to enter Afghanistan'<sup>19</sup>.

Thus, a military expedition was carried out 'to remove all anxiety about India's north western frontier... decision for war has been taken'<sup>20</sup>. The war itself was a replica of first Anglo Afghan war. This time also the British forces had to make a detour from the South via Kandahar to reach Kabul. Amir Yakub Khan {son of Sher Ali who had fled from Afghanistan} now the Amir of Kabul signed a peace treaty at **Gandamask**, with British forces at a British military camp approximately 79 miles south west of Kabul on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1879.

*British Government agreed to restore to Afghanistan the towns of Kandahar and Jelalabad which were in the possession of them exception being the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi however they agreed to pay the revenues of these districts, after deducting the charges of civil administration to Afghan Amir. As a bargain, the British Government retained the Khyber and Michni Passes, which lie between the Peshawar and Jelalabad districts and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these passes. It was also agreed that a line of telegraph from Kurram to Kabul shall be constructed for which the cost will be borne by the British Government and the Amir of Afghanistan to provide for the protection of this telegraph line.*

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<sup>19</sup> Dr Sultan-I-Rome *The Durand Line Agreement (1893): Its Pros and Cons*, [WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET](http://WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET), accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> January, 2011

<sup>20</sup> Durand Line, pp. 110-112 also see Aslam Khattak, *A Pathan Odyssey*, {Oxford, Karachi, 2000} pp., 70-71. Also see, Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. ["In the Shadow of the Durand Line: Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan"](#). Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, pp., 66-67.

Despite the treaty the Afghans again revolted and scenes similar to First war were re-enacted, 'A rebellion took place and the Mission's members were killed on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1879'<sup>21</sup>. British thus concluded that without having a King in Afghanistan who is reliable to their cause and also acceptable to the Afghans, problem of Afghanistan will remain agitated, Yakub Khan was put into exile in India. The British Viceroy in India, Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer had three choices: to annex Afghanistan and declare it a part of the British Empire, to make Afghanistan a strong British ally or disintegrate Afghanistan into small independent states. All these options were rejected by London; <sup>22</sup>instead, Abdur Rehman nephew of Sher Ali who had been in exile in Russia was put on throne on 22<sup>nd</sup> July **1880**.

## **WAZIRISTAN**

Waziristan came into limelight because of Forward Policy & the Great Game. Defeat of Yakub Khan also brought the Wazirs to the reality and in April **1881**, all the lashkar leaders gave themselves up to the authorities. Two British army columns, one under General Kennedy moved upwards from Tank into Jandola - ShahurTangi – Kanigoram - Makin – Razmak encountering stiff resistance at Shah Alam. The other column under General Gordon marched from Bannu via MirAli – Isha – Razmak without firing a single round<sup>23</sup>. Survey parties conducted survey for maps and both columns returned.

Amir Abdur Rehman started warming up with Wazirs again promising them the revival of subsidies, which they have been enjoying under his uncle Amir Sher Ali. T force of 1000 Mahsuds tribesmen were enrolled for him and act of allegiance was given to him by the Mahsuds. The art of politics is as strong among the Wazirs as it was practiced by the Greeks , a Wazir is under no central authority and as such no single individual can deal on behalf of them , they handed over the chief recruiter Daulat Khan to the political agent.

This was the most complete act of submission that the Mahsuds have ever done, before or since. Mahsuds agreed to pay a fine of Rupees 30,000 for attack on tank, eighty hostages ' chalweshtas' with British and also paying their monthly cost of maintenance which was Rupees 1000. In 1884 the leaders of 1878 attack on Tank were

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<sup>21</sup> Sultan Rome, *Durand Line* 1893, p 36.

<sup>22</sup>Abdur Rehman Khan," [http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Abdur\\_Rahman\\_Khan](http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Abdur_Rahman_Khan)

<sup>23</sup>Mizh Monograph, p -4.

released, thus all the efforts and submission of the tribe was aimed at getting the release of their maliks and not as a sign of weakness

The two disastrous campaigns in Afghanistan were a logical base to expect another campaign sooner or later and in **1885** the Defence Committee contemplating the future course of action in case of third war or the intrusion by the Russian reached the conclusion that control of all passes leading to Afghanistan should be explored and kept under the control of the Crown<sup>24</sup>. The tribes inhabiting the area should be made an ally with an aim that in any future conflict their loyalty will be with the British rather than with Afghanistan. The only two passes still not under the control of British were the Gomal & Tochi.

Sir Fredrick Roberts then Commander – in – Chief in India wrote a note in June **1887** on the necessity of opening both passes ‘There are strong reasons for a fresh departure in our policy towards the frontier tribes...sharing in our maintenance of our lines of communication...establishing with them closer relations than have hitherto existed between them and our districts in the Derajat’<sup>25</sup>. The Government of India replied in August 1887 ‘The opening of country can only be affected in two ways, either by the use of military force or by endeavouring to draw the tribes into close and friendly relation with ourselves’<sup>26</sup>.

In **February 1887** after the release of the Wazir maliks the government attempted to carry out the survey of the territory hoping to cash on the good will existing and knowing that these tribes have subjugated in the past, but they were in for a surprise because when the expedition under Mr Ogilvie Deputy Commissioner Derajat proceeded it met with great resistance and failed and came back costing the accountant a loss of Rs 17000/-. Mr Bruce replaced Ogilvie and he revived the Silladari system, which amounted to 61 in numbers, predominant, was Bahlolzai. In the end, Mr Bruce was able to figure out the 51 leading Maliks of the Mahsuds and Wazirs who in his opinion holds the key to any venture of British in this area. They thus formed a Jirga, which was to deal with the British; it was different from the traditional Jirga of the tribes. ‘For the first time in our dealing with Mahsuds tribe, it appears that substantial progress has been made towards the formation of a manageable representative Jirga on a sound basis’ remarks of commissioner Derajat.

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<sup>24</sup> *Report on Waziristan & Its Tribes, viz the Mahsuds, Darwesh Khel, Daur & the Bhattanis, showing our relations with the tribes to the end of March 1900* First Edition 1901 Lahore. Reprinted by Sang- E- Meel Publications, Lahore, 2005. P-2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, P-3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, Government of India letter No. 1633F dated 17<sup>th</sup> August 1887.

In November 1889 the Viceroy Lord Lansdowne accompanied by, commander-in-chief, lieutenant governor of Punjab, Sir Robert Sandeman toured Derajat and Gomal Pass was opened, annual fees of rest 50,000 to be paid to the Gomal pass tribes {Wazir & Sheoranis} and Rs 25,000/ for the Mando Khel of Zhob. In January 1890 a grand Jirga was held at Appozai {Fort Sandeman/ Zhob} where the Jirga also endorsed the pact with government and the subsidise granted. Amir of Afghanistan was not happy with the events taking place at Waziristan and he send his own emissary and also an armed escort promising the equal grants to the tribes in lieu for reunification of any treaty entered with British, Waziristan and especially the Mahsuds were now divided into pro government and pro Afghanistan factions. A British military expedition was sent to Mahsud area in the summer of 1892. Wich reached Jandola and Khajauri Kach by august 1892. In the same period Mr Kelly a British Public works Department official was murdered at Zhob by two Bahlolzai tribesmen; both were signatories of Appozai, a sowar of the regular cavalry was murdered near Zam Post, after some time four regular sepoy were also murdered near Ghwaleri Kotal in the Gomal pass. Mr Bruce was able to convince the Jirga that the culprits of these crimes be handed over or at least they should be put onto, the Jirga trail itself, he was able to achieve a partial success 'a remarkable success'<sup>27</sup>

## DURAND LINE 1893

Abdur Rehman was a bold ruler and he tried to assert his authority over the areas, which were historically under Afghanistan, for instance in 1882, Abdur Rehman laid claim to Chitral, {rejected by the British}. In 1886, his forces occupied Chageh (in Baluchistan) but the British forces uprooted and evacuated the Afghans. In 1888, he interfered in Bajaur and Swat. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of India, wrote to the Viceroy:

*'We are getting bad news all along the border, from the Black Mountain to the Wazir territory. The Amir is threatening Kurram, and the Afridis are in a very shaky condition.... Finally, when the Viceroy felt the need to meet with the Amir, he made an intelligent move and wrote to the Amir, "...whether you accept this offer or not, it will be necessary to decide what territory does, and what does not form part of the kingdom of Afghanistan'...Abdur Rehman resisted the mission on one pretext or the other and finally agreed to receive the*

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<sup>27</sup>Mizh monograph, p – 8.



*British mission, under the foreign secretary of state Mortimer Durand .the main issue from Abdur Rehman's point of view was his insistence on having the Yaghistan[ Chitral, Bajaur, Swat, Dir, Chilas, and Wazirs} under his influence..<sup>28</sup>*

Durand Line remained the Apple of Discord between Afghanistan & British India and later with Pakistan also. Therefore, it is pertinent to have the full text to fully comprehend the future events. The “Durand Line Agreement” between Abdur Rehman and Sir Mortimer Durand was signed on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1893, which formulated the formal borders between British India and Afghanistan and defined the sphere of influence especially in Waziristan.

**Text of the Agreement:** Whereas certain questions have arisen regarding the frontier of Afghanistan on the side of India, and whereas both His Highness the Amir and the Government of- India are desirous of settling these questions by friendly understanding, and of fixing the limit of their respective sphere of influence, so that for the future there may no difference of opinion on the subject between the allied Governments, it is hereby agreed as follow:

- 1. The Eastern and Southern frontier of His Highness's dominions, from Wakhan to the Persian border, shall follow the line shown in the map attached to this agreement.*
- 2. The Government of India will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan, and His Highness the Amir will at no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India.*
- 3. The British Government thus agrees to His Highness the Amir retaining Asmar and the valley above it, as far as Chanak. His Highness agrees, on the other hand, that he will at no time exercise interference in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral, including the Arnawai or Bashgal Valley. The British Government also agrees to leave to His Highness the Birmal tract as shown in the detailed map already given to His Highness, who **relinquishes his claim to the rest of the Wazir country and Dawar**. His Highness also relinquishes his claim to Chageh {Chageh}.*
- 4. The frontier line will hereafter be laid down in detail and demarcated, wherever this may be practicable and desirable, by joint British and Afghan commissions, whose object will be to arrive by mutual understanding at a boundary which shall adhere with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the map attached to this agreement, having due regard to the existing local rights of villages adjoining the frontier.*

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<sup>28</sup> Sultan Rome, *Durand Line*, p 8, also see Azmat Hayat, *Durand Line*, pp. 128-131 also see *Waziristan & Tribes* 1900 p-4.

5. *The above articles of agreement are regarded by the Government of India and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan as a full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier; and both the Government of India and His Highness the Amir undertake that any differences of detail, such as those which will have to be considered hereafter by the officers appointed to demarcate the boundary line, shall be settled in a friendly spirit, so as to remove for the future as far as possible all causes of doubt and misunderstanding between the two Governments.*

6. *Being fully satisfied of His Highness's good will to the British Government, and wishing to see Afghanistan independent and strong, the Government of India will raise no objection to the purchase and import by His Highness of munitions of war, and they will themselves grant him some help in this respect. Further, in order to mark their sense of the friendly spirit in which His Highness the Amir has entered into these negotiations, the Government of India undertake to increase by the sum of six lakh of rupees a year the subsidy of twelve lakh now granted to His Highness.*<sup>29</sup>

Amir Abdur Rehman had also stated that: "The province of Wakhan, which had come under my dominion, I arranged to be left under *one portion of Waziristan came under my rule, and I renounced my claims from the railway station of New Chaman, Chageh, the rest of Wazir, BulundKhel, Kurram, Afridi, Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas, and Chitral* to the British for protection, as it was too far from Kabul, and cut off from the rest of my country, and therefore very difficult to be properly fortified. The boundary line was agreed upon from Chitral and Baroghil Pass up to Peshawar, and thence up to Koh Malik Siyah in this way that Wakhan, Kafiristan, Asmar, Mohmand of Lalpura, and. The Amir further states that: "The misunderstandings and disputes which were arising about these frontier matters were put to an end, and after the boundary lines had been marked out according to the above-mentioned agreements by the Commissioners of both Governments, a general peace and harmony reigned between the two Governments, which I pray God may continue forever."<sup>30</sup>

## **APPOZAI MASSACRE 1894.**

The culprits of 1889 were finally put on trial by the Jirga and sentenced them to five – seven years of imprisonment, but an opposition also emerged against the very maliks who sanctioned the punishments, three of them were murdered. Bruce and British were busy in the

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<sup>29</sup>Azmat, *Durand Line*, appendix, p 244.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp., 134-144. Also see, Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. ["In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan"](#). Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, pp. 79-82.

Demarcation of the Afghan borders with India. Government of India as a last resort decided to occupy the Wana on permanent basis, the very first British military establishment in Waziristan. Bannu is culturally part of Waziristan but by 1820 it had deviated so much from the traditional Wazir culture that it became more of a cosmopolitan city. By 1850 Kurram Valley had little in common with the southern Wazirs. The Turis came down from Afghanistan. Valley had more Persian culture than the Southern Waziristan, over whelming majority of the Kurram Valley population follows Shia code of Islam.

### **Mullah Powindah { Died 1913}**

At this stage appears Mohiuddin Mahsud ‘Mullah Powindah’ he was vociferous about the military occupation of Wana by the British troops. In October 1894, the British force under Mr Bruce arrived at Kaarb Kot on the way to Wana when at night lashkar of 2000 Mahsuds attacked the camp and inflicted heavy casualties. From 18<sup>th</sup> December 1894, the British forces again entered Waziristan under General William Lockhart, the columns were led and guided by the friendly maliks, and political control was handed over to army. The aim was to capture the main leaders /areas of the hostile clans that included shabby Khel, Abdur Rehman Khel and Ahmadwam and certain Langar Khel. Lockhart had three brigades, one moved from Bannu – Razmak via Khaisora. The other Brigade moved from tank to Jandola, Makin via Takki Zam, and the third brigade is already at Wana had to move to Kanigoram via Tiarza. By 21<sup>st</sup> December 1894, all the three brigades reached their objectives, tribesmen refused to enter into any fight with the British. By February 1895 the tribes accepted all the conditions of the government including the hostages were compiled, it was also accepted that government can have a military presence at Wana, the last condition of the government to expel Mullah Powindah was also accepted.

British thus established army garrison at Wana, Jandola, Barwand the open plains north of Sarwekai, only Barwand was in Mahsud territory. Bannu was already a garrison from Sikh Raj and British maintained it. There were no roads only dirt, shingle and mountainous tracks. Movement was on horses but Wazir prefer to walk on feet, responsibility of marinating horse is too much for carefree wayfarer warrior like Wazir.

## Tochi Valley

The most comfortable approach and Pass that allows a west – east movement in the Waziristan. It was a different ball, game as the Amir of Afghanistan had claims over the territory, and it was decided that before reaching on any agreement with the Wazir Tribes it is pertinent that issue of sphere of influence be settled first with Afghanistan. Before the opening of Gomal Pass, the Afghan Government realising the moves of British made efforts to assert its influence over the Wazirs of Tochi Valley. Wazirs or for that matter no tribe of Waziristan had ever acknowledge any suzerainty of any government in their history however the cultural and religious ties bound them to the Afghanistan. These tribes were not agricultural rather they were and still are nomadic in nature. To them going down or eastward was only for replenishing their fortunes through raids to them west was their cultural hub. Cities of Ghazna, Ghor and Kabul were their ancestral seats their summer camps, language was the key factor. Pashto was spoken in the area west of Indus however in the east it was amalgamation of regional languages. Area west of Tochi was all Islamic in nature and infidels were not worthy more than slaves but in east they had their own states thus to these Wazirs no matter how independent they were but a soft corner still existed in heart for Kabul and this is what Afghan Amir wanted to exploit.

## The Waziristan Commission

The first commission, known as the Khyber Demarcation Commission, was designated for the demarcation of the border from the SafeedKoh to the Kabul River. The Kurram-Afghan Commission was represented from the British side by the British Commissioner, J. S. Donald and by Sherin Dil Khan from the Afghan side. The border demarcation from Sikaram to Laram was done with minor adjustments to the Durand Line map in favour of the Afghans. Both the British and Afghan representatives sanctioned this border in mid **1895**. The Baluch-Afghan Commission was responsible for the border demarcation from Domandi to the Iranian border, The boundary from Domandi to Chaman was easily settled by February 16, 1895. The border from Domandi to Persia (the top of Koh-i-Malik-Siah Mountain) was finalized in June 1896.

After the three main Commissions, a fourth commission was set up under L.W. King to delimit the Afghan frontier on the border of Waziristan in 1894-95 but the actual work did

not start until early 1895. Amir Abdur Rehman had claims over the Waziristan purely on the basis of historical values. He wrote to the Viceroy that:

*'But if you should cut them out of my dominions, they will neither be of any use to you nor to me: you will always be engaged in fighting or other troubles with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time, a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India, these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies . . . . In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak, and my weakness is injurious to your Government.'*<sup>31</sup> Viceroy Lord Lansdowne replied *'British government had always dealt directly with the Wazir tribe and would continue to do so'*.<sup>32</sup>

In April 1894, Amir of Afghanistan was informed that a brigade of force will be accompanying the demarcation commission to avoid any trouble with Wazirs, this brigade would be stationed at Spin Valley and actual strength of escort would be 400. The Demarcation Commissioner Mr Bruce who was also the commissioner of Derajat along with Mr Anderson Deputy Commissioner Bannu and Mr King Deputy commissioner Bannu the other two members camped at Domandi. In August 1894, the tribes were informed about this demarcation.

The demarcation in Waziristan commenced from Charkiagarh Hill and passing across the Tochi at Pachagari follows the crest of the hills, which lie, between the Birmal and Shawal Valleys leaving Birmal within Afghanistan boundary- up to Khawaja Khedar and from the latter to near Shakin, which will also remain within the afghan boundary. From Shakin, the line runs due south to the crest of the range crossed by the Nazan Kotal to a place six miles to the south of the Kotal. Thence it follows the Spira Range to Domandi, which lies, on the junction of the Gomal & Khidar River to Khawaja Khidar<sup>33</sup>.

It was unfair by any standard of morality and legality to divide an area under two independent sovereign states without even asking the population. The major and rather the only aim of British was the sole possession of the passes leading in to sub continent. Durand Line main brunt was in Mohmand and Waziristan where the tribes inhabiting the area were

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<sup>31</sup>Azmat, Durand Line, p131.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid 132.

<sup>33</sup>Waziristan Report 1900, p-4.

deprived of free movement. Tribes were not aware of the international politics under which the security of state is paramount and individual right of movement is bound to follow the laws. In case of the tribes of Waziristan and more particularly Tochi Valley, this was something unheard of to put limits on the centuries old traditional summer & winter migration.

The boundary was ultimately marked in three segments, the first from Domandi-Khawaja Khidar, second from Charkhel to Khawaja Khidar and lastly from Charkhel to Laram.



